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the narrative breaks off from precedent. True, we are familiar with 773
Coyote's comic resurrections and with an occasional similar revival of a minor character. The death of the chief supernatural, however, usually forms the climax of the narrative, with resurrection postponed to the far future. The Pimans, on the contrary, use it as the transition to an emergence and migration myth, highly suggestive of the Pueblos.

The story of I'itoi's march of conquest goes into geographic detail, giving the localities of the great houses which were destroyed and the names of the *siiwanyi* [9] (rain magicians) who owned them. However, the tale has a baffling twist for anyone who would use it as a clue to Piman history. Were the Pimans I'itoi's original creations? Or were they the people who came from underground to destroy them? They assert that they are both. Some of their most important ceremonies, such as the rainmaking ceremony and girls' puberty ceremony are dated from the era when I'itoi brought them up "like children," and their sites are pointed out in Papago country. Yet the founding of Papago villages and the planting of their prayer-stick "roots" are episodes in the march of conquest.

If the Pimans were the first inhabitants and also the conquerors, there is one thing omitted from the story—the arrival of the great-house builders and their usurpation of the land. Can this be symbolized by the death of I'itoi? Another possibility might be that the present Pimans are a mixture of early inhabitants and of immigrants known to have filtered in from Tusayan country in the twelfth century A.D. The myths of various groups may have been joined in such a way as to leave the present tellers always in the position of chosen people and conquerors. Archaeology seems on the verge of solving the riddle, and when it does, interesting light will be thrown on the psychological motives in myth telling.

SUPERNATURALS

The degree of importance given to supernaturals in this myth 776 ●
has little to do with their place in Papago ceremony. Earthmaker, for instance, is entirely unrepresented, either in song or in ritual.

[9] Cf. Zuni *shiwanni*, rain priest (Parsons, 1939, p. 117) and Keres, *shiwanna*, cloud spirit (Dumarest, pp. 173–74).

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His is a mysterious name, known to few beside the myth tellers, and the obscure preamble in which he appears is only a preliminary to the history of the essentially Papago god I'itoi.

The name I'itoi, however, is in every mouth. All know that he instituted the ceremonies, and often they know the story of the local shrine where he performed some exploit. The influence of Christianity has had its effect in raising I'itoi's status as the supreme supernatural, and many now speak of him as "the Papago Christ." However, I'itoi's name does not often appear in ceremonies. Only after research is it apparent that many of the rituals are repetitions of magical means used by him in the early days. The songs are those which he sang to gain power. The speeches, in the first person, recount his achievements, though sometimes in symbolic terms. Often, however, the myth is not told so as to make this connection. Some of the speakers themselves could not explain who the "I" of the narrative was. They say only, "That's how I learned it." Yet a study of the myth makes it clear that the uncostumed speaker, mumbling his account of the desired event in a low voice, is actually representing I'itoi. This is impersonation reduced to its simplest terms.

Of the other beings in the myth, none has retained vitality except Coyote. This is not because he is totem of one of the moieties. Buzzard, the other totem, has no place in ceremony whatever, and we suspect that he has been thrust into the myth to bolster up his importance, since the Pima, who have other moiety names, leave him out. Coyote is the hero of the usual cycle of tales, comic and admonitory, and in these he is made to talk with an impediment which narrators love to imitate. More than that, he is a vision giver, described as

> Our woolly comrade,
> Our shining eyed comrade,

and warriors, hunters, and healers sing songs given by him to convey power.

There are other supernaturals outside the origin myth, though more concerned with ceremony than are many within it. First of these is the healer and seed bringer, called Navitcu and represented

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as a masked clown. Although the impersonation of I'itoi is scarcely recognizable, Navitcu is always dramatically represented, with kilt, white buckskin mask, and topknot of turkey feathers. He appears at the prayer-stick festival, entering from the north "which is his home," and uttering shrill, unintelligible cries. He has healing powers and will come at other times if you sprinkle corn meal upon the ground, for "he was the first who taught the people to do that." It is also stated that "he brought us the squash and, some say, the corn, too." Navitcu has obvious likenesses to a Pueblo kachina or a Pueblo clown. In fact, both he and his ceremony, the prayer-stick festival, show such obvious Pueblo affiliations that the subject will be discussed in another publication.

Other supernaturals who appear in ceremony, but not in myth, are the rain beings in the four directions. These are not impersonated or, in fact, even named. They are spoken of as "he, my guardian," the word being the same as that used for a ceremonial father. It is not used for other supernaturals and applies only to these nameless beings, who live in "rain houses" on the mountains and are approached by means of tobacco smoke. Obviously they are to be identified with the Pueblo "chiefs of the directions" [10] and with the Aztec *tlalocs*. In fact a ceremonial speech made to them almost duplicates an Aztec prayer quoted by Sahagún.[11]

Last among the supernaturals, though most important in daily life, come the guardian spirits.[12] They, also, are absent from the origin myth, though one ceremonialist accounted for them, as an afterthought, by saying that they must be the survivors of the first flood, who turned into animals. They, with their supernatural powers, decide the fate of the average man. They can procure food where man would starve. They can burrow into the ground and fly into the air, sheltering themselves and avoiding danger, where man is an awkward target. These are powers that the desert man needs, and he feels that if the animals are friendly they will bestow them upon him. It is true that these same animals have been or-

10 Parsons, 1939, pp. 170–73.

11 Sahagún, 1880, pp. 344–45.

12 Russell says nothing about guardian spirits among the Pima. In view of the firm establishment of this belief among the Papago, it is easier to suppose that the Pima have lost it through acculturation than that they never had it.

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dained as man's food. But this privilege has been granted by themselves and must not be abused. The slightest waste or cruelty will cause them not only to withdraw the food supply but also to punish man himself by disease. The way to cure disease is to please the animals by virtuous living and thus acquire power to overcome the evils they send. The cycle is complete. The connection of practical economy with religious belief has been worked out by this frugal people as far as by anyone.

Not only the animals are living powers. Every part of the natural environment is also personified and must be treated with circumspection and respect. The individual, when going about his duties, should never attack nature roughly, but explain his need and ask for help. "I have come to get clay," says the woman who is digging material for her pots, "be favorable to me." The hunter, bending over a dead deer, apologizes: "I have killed you because I need food. Do not be angry." The planter, taking a handful of corn kernels from his pouch, adjures them: "I am dropping you into the earth. Now ripen well." It is a religion whose every act is focused upon the forces of nature, constraining them to help man or, at least, not to hinder him in his arduous tasks.

Those forces are not either good or evil. The Papago do not explain the supernatural world as a dualism, inhabited by both kindly and maleficent spirits. Rather, it is permeated by power which is helpful or destructive according to the medium through which it passes. A good being, human or supernatural, will use it for good; a bad one for evil. And the same being will change from time to time. Thus I'itoi and Earthmaker are not opposed forces, like God and the devil, but both in turn benefit man; then both mishandle their power and harm him. So the animal guardian spirits can turn unfriendly and send diseases. So the shaman can change from a healer to a sorcerer.

The fear of power is an underlying motive in Papago religion quite as much as the reverence for it. A man who has obtained power through vision or ceremony is regarded with apprehension as well as respect. "He might forget to take care of his fetish, and then he could make us all sick." The shaman, greatest recipient of power, is also the only villager who can be killed with impunity.

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Papago records are full of accounts of the lynching of shamans whose power had turned destructive, perhaps without their knowledge. I'itoi himself was killed in just this way. It may be suggested that the story of the "dying god," shared by the Papago with several California tribes, is, in fact, a magnified picture of shaman killing, reflecting actual practice among the peoples concerned.

CONTACT WITH THE SUPERNATURALS

Contact with the supernaturals was achieved by two methods that differ so much that they amount to separate religious systems. On the one hand was a calendric round of ceremonies, conducted by a priestly hierarchy and bringing blessing to the whole community. It was a system of group control, in which the average man made no individual approach to the supernatural and received no individual power. He danced as directed, and he helped with the manual work of a ceremony, but he had no other responsibility. The blessing he received was the general one of well being for his village.

Opposed to this was the democratic concept of the guardian spirit, opening the power quest to everyone. Formerly a Papago expected no success in life unless he had met some spirit tutelary who had given him a song for use in time of need. Old tales do not speak of heroes by name, but rather as hawk meeter, Coyote meeter, crane meeter. The conquest of the great houses is explained by the statement: "They could do nothing against us, we had so many meeters."

One such system has usually been enough for an Indian group—as communal ceremonies were for the Pueblos, and the vision for the Plains. With the Papago the two seem to have been almost equally developed. However, each had a distinct function. Communal ceremonies brought rain and therefore food; they have been spoken of here as "food ceremonies." Vision experiences brought power for individual achievements; the rites which set the seal on such achievements have been referred to as "power ceremonies." Different as the two were, both in purpose and in procedure, they were oriented to one final end, the acquisition of rain. Even in-

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and they thought the earth would be destroyed. Then a man spoke—not a shaman, just a wise man. He said: "The most valuable thing we have is our children. Let us take four children, paint them beautifully, and place them in the hole. So it was done.

This part of the story has various versions. The children are always equally divided with regard to sex, but some say there were four, one from each of the four sibs, while some say two, one from each moiety or from each main sib: *dapap* and *maam*. Some versions make them the children of the "big man" himself, while some say they were "grandmother's children," i.e., those whose parents were dead. The version which speaks of four would seem to be the official one, since four children, elaborately painted, figure at the prayer-stick festival and are said to represent these "flood children."

As soon as the children were placed in the hole, it closed up. But the children were not dead, for dreamers since then have often looked down through the earth and seen them, happy and playing.[2]

These "flood children" are the patron deities of the four surrounding villages. They are represented at the prayer-stick festival in a dance which seems to have nothing to do with the rest of the ceremony, and they also appear at the Kaka growth ceremony. Songs were frequently composed about them for ceremonies where new songs were in order, dreamers saw them in visions, and during the writer's visit at Santa Rosa the keeper of the smoke used to go to the shrine and to ask their advice on village problems. The shrine marks the hole where they disappeared, and if its ceremonies were ever to be neglected, wind or flood would again threaten the earth.

The shrine is a conical pile of flat stones, occupying an oval space some twenty feet wide by thirty feet long and surrounded by a paling made of the tall, thorny stems of the ocotillo. These were and are renewed every two years, and the work of renewal, like all other phases of ceremonial life, is associated with the idea of crops and growth.

The renewal took place in April or May, when the ocotillos are green. A meeting was held, and a day was appointed when every

[2] Cf. Zuni, the fate of the child who was given to the corn, died and was buried. Bunzel, 1929–30, p. 593. Also, incidents in Parsons, 1939, p. 255, and 1926, pp. 181–86; Benedict (1936), I, 10–11.

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39 782 favorable to me. Give me life. Let me be a runner; a shaman; a [184] singer; a hunter."

All those who had their prayer sticks threw them into the sea. If, for some reason, a man was not acceptable to the supernatural, the waves would return the prayer stick. The most usual reasons for rejection were failure in sexual continence during the preparations for the journey or the fact that a man's wife might be menstruating. However, "the sea cleans the sticks." If a man persevered and threw in his offering four times, it would be accepted.

Sometimes a man himself was taken by the sea and engulfed like the prayer sticks. Speech No. 8 speaks of such an experience. No one attempted to rescue the drowning man, for he was being [174] summoned by the supernatural. He might reappear after many years as a powerful shaman, or he might be turned into a bird or a fish.

317 824 Any object which a man saw while in the sea was a special gift to him from the supernatural. If he noticed a strand of seaweed, a shell, or a pebble, he sprinkled corn meal on the object, then took it home as a token, very powerful in cleansing salt pilgrims. A kind of seaweed known as "ocean foam" was particularly desired. Sometimes a man took hold of something which, when he found it in his hand, lost its beauty, and in that case he must put it back exactly where he found it, again sprinkling corn meal (5).

317 787 481 After their entry into the sea, the neophytes ran on the beach: a strenuous test of their powers. There was a headland some twenty miles from the salt bed, according to informants, and the men ran to this and back, not stopping except on the headland itself. Some men are reported to have perished from cold and exhaustion during this run, but all trained for it during their whole boyhood, for it was here that a magic experience was expected.

317 781 Everything that a man saw while running was an omen for his future career. One informant saw a flock of white cranes, which seemed to him to be men running. He followed them and was able to keep pace, and from this he knew that he would be a great runner. One saw the white cranes playing with a kickball, and knew that he would excel in this sport. One, exhausted from running,

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753 times had a relation to traits in the animal. Thus, most coughs came
825 from the deer, "because he snorts and snuffles." Head lice were from the eagle, usually infested with them. Headache and dizziness were from the horse, "because you feel that way when he throws you." Certain animals were particularly common as avengers, the larger ones appearing oftenest. The writer, when staying in a Papago house, was once caught by her hostess swatting flies. She attempted to excuse the slaughter by explaining: "You know, we white people are peculiar. We think flies bring disease."

"Oh," replied the Papago, "we think disease comes from animals, too, but we wouldn't pick on anything so small as a fly. We'd think of big ones, like the badger or the deer."

787 The animals came unsought to their "meeters," giving, perhaps,
759 one song which could be used to evoke their good will.[3] Both men and women received these songs, and often those not otherwise given to dreaming managed this one contact with the supernatural. Said one woman:

> I was out in the desert one day and saw a horned toad looking at me. I knew he meant to say something, and I thought about it. That night, I waked up, and a song began to come to me. But I couldn't get it all. Next morning, I lay still and thought, and then I began to sing it. It was about the horned toad.
>
> For a long time nobody knew anything about it except that my family heard me singing. At last my mother was very sick. They had other singers and nothing had happened. My family asked me to try, but I was ashamed. At last I did, and she got well. Then other people asked me.(26)

752 One modern singer cures injuries resulting from falling off a
● 776 horse or being kicked by horses and cattle. Since these animals are
177 importations from the whites, his visitant is another white importation, the devil.

[114] [3] Russell says nothing about singers of animal songs among the Pima, yet they must have existed. He gives a list of symptoms and procedures (pp. 262–65) very similar to the ones quoted here. Some of his medicine songs (pp. 312–14, 317, 319, 320–21) are obviously those given by animals. His statement is that these are a remedy for animal-sent disease, and, by inference, the singer is the shaman. However, in the case of the dog disease (p. 263) "someone who knows the dog song is called in to sing." Very likely, there were singers for the other songs also.

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I once fell from a horse and was unconscious for twenty-four hours. During that time, devils came to me. They were dressed like Mexicans and had yellowish faces and mustaches. They were riding horses and had a spare horse for me. We rode inside the mountain ranges and saw the gold and silver piled up there. They sang and I learned their songs. When I came to, I was singing them.

Now, every night as I fall asleep I hear them singing, far off. It is a new song, and I learn it as they approach. When they arrive, I know it, and we go off singing together. Sometimes I don't remember the song in the morning; often I do. I did not cure for a long time, but there was no one else who knew songs for the horse disease, so after awhile the people asked me to sing, and I did.

A woman informant said:

I have always dreamed since I was a child. I could have been a shaman, but my father did not wish it. But many visitants kept coming to me: Coyote came, a black thousand-legs, and finally a spider.

I had been picking cactus once and was tired. I made a mound of earth to support my head and lay down to sleep. Before me, at the entrance of a hollow in the rock, a spider was spinning its thread. I said to it: Won't you fall? Then it sang me a song about itself.

1. Little gray spider shaman
At the cave entrance hanging!
"Do not think I shall fall,
I have two hands;
By them I am hanging."(26)

Years afterward, when I was a widow and younger women began to come and ask my advice about their children, I began using that song. I found I had great power.

The meeter was usually instructed by his visitant as to how to obtain a fetish, which might be claw, tuft of hair, or peculiarly shaped stone. Sometimes the meeter himself carved the visitant's image out of wood. In curing, he waved the fetish over the patient or brushed away evil with it as the shaman brushed with his plumes. He also learned a song and the proper musical accompaniment with rattle or basket drum. Often, as has been said, such a song might differ, only in one word or note from another that

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TURTLE.—*Symptoms:* sores on the feet. *Fetish:* a rattle in turtle shape with marking on one side. *Musical instrument:* same as fetish.(25 and 26)

25. A little black turtle,
Just yonder at Pitcikin,
Got drunk.
The girls he ogled.
Trying to talk Mexican,
Trying to talk American.
"See how bright I am!"
Said the turtle.(31)

26. Little black turtle,
Little shaman,
Over there goes crawling, crawling, crawling,
Over there goes crawling.(31)

27. A little black turtle .
Toward Badger Well was crawling;
Toward it, squint-eyed, he was looking.
He stood near me,
And twisting up, he looked at me.(26)

28. Little full-bodied turtle,
All alone!
His wife ran away,
Yonder, up Baboquiviri, he climbs,
Trying to look for her.
But he did not find her.
So he fell down and died.(20)

A war song by the turtle when he followed a war party and outstripped them all in valor. *Haiyu* is turtle language. The turtle's bravery is due to his thick back. He can't be killed.

29. *Haiyu, haiyu, haiyu!*
Upon the green rock
A green eagle descended.
Haiyu, haiyu, haiyu, haiyu, haiyu!

Not only animals caused sickness, but plants, winds and undefined mythical beings. A very common one was *pihuri*, spoken

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753 776 of as a little old blind man with red-rimmed eyes. He passed people on the road, and the wind blowing from him to them caused trachoma and other eye troubles. A whole series of songs describes *pihuri's* personal habits. No fetish is used. The musical instrument is an especially stout scraping stick of cactus rib with very fine notches.

753 776 x 539 *Pihuri is a great gambler.*

30. Am I not *pihuri, pihuri, pihuri!*
Lo, the playing cards painted;
I like them!
They are like a magnet [to draw winnings].

Pihuri is so old that he even pounds up fresh deer meat before cooking, so that he can chew it.

31. Lo, it is Badger shaman!
At night he runs.
Deer meat he brings.
Lo, it is *pihuri,* the little old man!
The meat he is pounding.(20)

Pihuri has a good metate, which all the girls like to use! Now pihuri has a protégé sleeping in the house, and the girls are afraid of him, so grinding is heard in all the other houses, except pihuri's.

32. Lo, I am *pihuri's* little familiar.
I lie in the house.
That is what you [girls] are afraid of.
Are you afraid of me
Around me in all [the houses]
There is the sound of grinding.
In all [the houses]
There is the sound of grinding.(20)

776 Some informants thought that *pihuri* was a plant which took human form. It is supposed to be an intoxicant, and there is some mysterious connection between it and the deer. The Pima are said to consider it a tree growing in Mexico.[9] These scraps of information suggest a connection between *pihuri* and the Huichol *hikuli,* peyote. It is possible that they represent a few vague rumors as

[9] Russell, p. 79. Russell also speaks of "Piholi" as an evil spirit (p. 265).

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to the Mexican plant. Two songs illustrate this aspect of *pihuri*, though they are used for curing sore eyes, just as are the others.

33. The deer is drunk;
The deer is drunk.
Around the great mountain he runs.(20)

34. There is the sotol blossom fallen down;
Toward it I run.
It fell on the leaves of the *pihuri*,
And I run toward it.
It will make us drunk.
In a circle we shall go singing.

There is the sotol blossom fallen down;
Toward it I run.
It fell on the leaves of the *pihuri*,
And I run toward it.
It will make us dizzy.
In a row we shall go singing.(20)

Two other plants take human form and cause hallucinations. One is *Datura meteloides* (jimson weed). The song for it is:

35. Here you brought me to the liquor.
It was very good.
I was very drunk.
Hither you brought me,
And an eagledown headdress you made me.(20)

The other plant is the unidentified *tcīnacat*,[19] which has here been called lizard weed. For this no song was obtained.

It is possible for sickness to come from almost any phenomenon in nature, depending, perhaps, on the imagination of the shaman. Such illnesses are rare, and the only one mentioned was from the whirlwind. *Symptom:* dizziness. *Musical instrument:* basket and scraping stick.

36. A little gray whirlwind
Is trying to catch me.
Across my path
It keeps whirling.

[19] See the Pima song (Russell, p. 229), where the word is spelled *TCU-Unarsat*.

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The most dangerous of all mythical beings were the scalps, the "prisoners" [11] who lived inside a warrior's scalp basket. These might plague their owner's family, his visitors, and even the warrior himself, if he had neglected them. They emerged from their basket in the form of little men, very dirty and fierce, in Apache dress. They peeped through the door at the sufferer, twitched his blanket, and tickled him. If he were their owner, and they had not been fed, they might ask for food or offerings. If he were a visitor in the house, they would frighten him by whistling and swinging to and fro in the basket.

Women suffered more seriously. All lovesickness and sexual malaise were attributed to the scalp mannikins, who were thought to caress women in their sleep and even have intercourse with them. If a man had hallucinations that his wife was unfaithful, it was due to the same cause. The remedy for this was not the war purification songs, but a special set of scalp mannikin songs, dealing with their sexual aspect. These songs were the property of enemy slayers, but in recent years have been learned by others.

SCALP MANNIKIN SONGS

The scalp mannikin sings.

37. "Under the sun's rain house I stood;
My blossoms I strewed and ran."(31)

38. A scalp meeter girl
Comes here,
With lovely flowers;
The scalp children,
Yonder, ran out
All covered with flowers.(20)

39. What did you do to me?
You made a scalp basket.
Lo, you made a house for me,
Thus doing;
Within it you wrapped me.
The sun set,
Then I came out.(20)

[11] Cf. the Pima *tcúcvim*, "an evil spirit exorcised by a strand of Apache hair" Russell, p. 264). However, *tcuvvim* is the word for smoking and may refer to purification. One song quoted (p. 325) is classed as *kokpU*, which means prisoners.

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40. Red Mountain
Toward the east came forth,
Slowly growing tall.
Then I beneath it
Draw close.(20)

41. Black Mountain
Within the water stands.
Under it monsters shriek.
The water echoes.(20)

42. Under the sunset
A mountain stands.
Under the sunset
A mountain stands.

Toward it we run;
Toward it we run and sing.
Our rattles we are shaking.(20)

43. Revolving,
A rain house stands,
Within it black liquor
I drank.
Many scalp-men
With me drank.
"You are my elder brother!"
Thus they said,
And yonder staggering
Went running.(20)

44. *Haiya, haiya,*
My younger brothers!
Haiya, haiya,
My younger brothers!
The sun above us
Is moving.
Haiya, haiya!
Under it my heart is being destroyed.
What shall I do to you,
My younger brother?(20)

45. Sick from the scalps!
Sick from the scalps!

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I can do nothing
There; before me he is groaning.
The scalp songs cast light.
Therewith it is ended.(20)

Lovesickness in men might also be due to the scalp mannikins and might be cured by the scalp songs. But it was more often attributed to the light women who filled the role of courtesans or prostitutes. As a fetish a little clay figure of a woman was made, or of a man and a woman. The curing songs were the songs of the light women which were sung at the drinking festival. One was quoted as being used especially for lovesickness. It was sung without musical accompaniment, by anyone who knew it.

Addressed by a man to the light woman who takes him to dance.

46. Women surround me.
Yonder songs are sounding;
Toward them they lead me.
Yonder songs are sounding;
Toward them they lead me.(31)

47. Yonder toward the west I run;
Running, I sing.
A man I see who is carrying a woman.
He takes me with him.
My heart glows blazing.(31)

Eagle and salt sicknesses were less common. The eagle sickness generally showed itself in nosebleed or in lice. It resulted from the breaking of a taboo connected with eagle killing and could be cured only by an eagle killer, using his tuft of down as a fetish.[12]

THE HERB DOCTOR

In addition to the singers, we should list one practitioner who had not necessarily any connection with the supernatural. This was the herb doctor. In one sense, every housewife in Papagueria was a herb doctor for as a by-product of her food gathering she

[12] A similar treatment among the Pima is indicated by Russell, pp. 263 (eagle and hawk), 289, 333.

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MODERN SONG CYCLE

There are still many song dreamers, young as well as old. Many songs consist merely of variations on the standard poetic phrases, but a few deal with the entirely new background introduced by the whites. One composer has a modern guardian spirit, the devil. This visitant, as has been mentioned, cures diseases due to those white man's importations, the horse and the cow. He has also, in nightly wanderings, sung to his protégé songs concerning railroads and telegraph wires.

In some of these the words are placed with excellent onomatopoetic effect. The custom of using extra vocables is a great opportunity for the introduction of appropriate sounds, and this has been done in line three, where the regular bumping of a train over the rails is imitated. In the last line the syllable *amo* has been added to two words as the train disappears trailing smoke. The humor may need explanation. That anything so sacred as a cloud hangs over the iron wagon makes it seem, at first, divine. Then the error is dissipated.

THE APPROACHING TRAIN

17. The iron wagon hither runs.
The iron wagon hither runs.
Over it a cloud is lying.
Oh! It's only the smoke.(12)

RAILS

18. Yonder far I ran,
Walked and ran.
Iron stretched out.
Then I beside it ran.
Nowhere did it end.
It stretched out.(12)

In this song the diphthong *au*, in the words meaning "to stretch," is lengthened and emphasized with realistic stretching effect.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

The crucifix early achieved status as a fetish, and the writer has known shamans to prescribe it. The same is true of prayers. In a case of epilepsy, which was, perhaps, an unfamiliar disease, the diagnostician did not call for guardian spirit songs in the usual manner, but, instead, ordered the women to sing the Rosary.

There was little attempt to reconcile the Papago and Christian theologies, although some very modern Papago now speak of I'itoi as the Papago Christ. The important supernatural adopted from the new religion was the devil. One remembers the position of this character in Spanish folklore, where he often appears, not as a dignified arch fiend, but as a coyote-like character who is always being worsted. The *tciaur* (Spanish, *diablo*) as described by the Papago, is a being of this type, gay, silly, and even kindly. He is not unlike the Papago guardian spirit, nor is he foreign to the scalp mannikins, dirty and mischievous little spirits who drive people mad with love.

We hear echoes of the scalp mannikins in the plaint of one girl who had been married to the devil in a dream. "Do not sing for me," she said to the people who came to cure her. "Only those can be free of the devil who wish to be free, and I have been married a long time." She described her supernatural spouse as old and bearded, dressed in white man's clothes and owning a car. Nightly he took her in it through the mountains and showed her the piles of unmined gold and silver. Her obsession has reminders of the scalp mannikin legend and also of the snake, who marries young people, making them neglectful of human love. A gayer vision of the devil was that of a young man who danced nightly on the mountains with devil boys and devil girls.

To another, the devil came quite in the guise of a guardian spirit. He looked "like a Mexican, with yellow face and black moustaches."(12) He appeared riding a horse, at the head of a cavalcade of devils, all singing. This arrival, announced by a song, is typical of the guardian spirits. Commonly the song is used for curing a disease sent by the spirit itself. In this case the song cured ailments of horses or the "horse disease" in humans. The linking of the white man's animal with the white man's supernatural seems very logical. Perhaps, had the Papago been left un-

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

disturbed, the devil might have developed into a guardian spirit in good standing.

There were some more organized versions of Christian belief. One of these grew up among the northern Papago, who had retained their tradition of a yearly pilgrimage to Mexico. In fact, their goal was Kino's old headquarters, the church at Magdalena, in the Altar valley. Gradually the visit there became formalized, so that instead of a winter sojourn by individuals or families, it was a pilgrimage of several weeks, made by half the population of a village. The Franciscan priests who today control the missions believe that the custom may have had its roots in Jesuit times. Otherwise, why do the pilgrims always bring home the picture of St. Francis Xavier, patron of Jesuit missionaries? The Franciscans suggest that, had they instituted the custom, they would naturally have used the picture of their own patron, St. Francis of Assisi.

The journey as an institution lapsed some years ago, when a Mexican revolution closed the churches. Until then it had been one of the great events of the year for the northern villages. This is how one participant described it, in the days when the journey was made by wagon.

> Everyone who can sell a cow and get money goes. There are about a hundred wagons in a big long line, and they make a camp circle at night. The lady that gave the statue of St. Francis to our church always takes it with her to be blessed. She carries it in her trunk, wrapped in a blessed cloth, and when she camps she sets it on something, never on the ground. . . . When they get to Magdalena, they go straight to the church and get their property blessed. Then they have a good time and buy things.

As indicated by the last lines, the days in the rich Mexican valley were as much a carnival as a religious exercise. The little town of Magdalena brought out its stores of fruit, candy, cheap jewelry, and Mexican finery and held a fair in the plaza. It was from this source that the Indians brought their most cherished white man's goods. Only recently has it been displaced by the nearer markets at Tucson.

The Indians always saved a little money for candles and holy

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Choosing runners was an elaborate matter since their backers risked all their small amount of property on them. It was the aim of every village to have fleet runners among its young men as the speeches show. A village which felt it came up to the mark might challenge another village or might invite its partners to witness the boys' speed and decide whether they would join in betting on them. Or a defeated side might select its most likely youths and have them trained. In any case, long and rigorous training was necessary. The runners practised daily, running as much as twenty-five miles. They ate no meat, honey or cactus syrup and in the morning before starting took nothing but water.

Some of the older men backing them must know the cycle of running songs and sing them daily. If this were done for him, the runner himself need not have a supernatural guardian but many of the most famous runners did have. Thus one man had been visited by a hawk who caused feathers to grow at his elbows and wrists. Another carried a piece of the rainbow, which made him unreachable, as the rainbow is.

The calendar stick gives several descriptions of challenges and the training of runners:

"A man invited his friend from Comobabi to the drinking ceremony at the Place of the Burnt Dog. The friend got drunk. Some people came from Plow-Land, southwest from the place of the Burnt Dog. They called the visitor by name, Garment-Falling-Down, and said, 'We know you can't beat us. Do you want to race again? Our horse is fast but even at kickball you can't beat us. We have good runners.' They kept taunting. Garment-Falling-Down sat still with his head down. The visitors, who were on horseback, rode at him. His host drove them off. He then invited Garment-Falling-Down back to his house to drink, where they got to talking. When the cactus liquor was all gone, Garment-Falling-Down went home. He kept thinking and from down in his heart he decided to race with the people from the Tecaloti region. That evening he said to his sons:

'I am now going to tell you what I have on my mind. From the beginning it says that if you have a son, as I have, make him get up in the morning and run, from the time the sun rises until it has been shining for two hours. Teach yourselves to run — you'll get strength that way. As Elder Brother said, that's the way strength began from the very beginning. Do this always from now on, and in the afternoon get your kickball and run. Early in the morning go out with your guns and look for the deer on the mountain. From them you will get strength. And I'll be watching to see when you have got enough speed.'

Thus he talked every evening and every morning. At dawn he

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

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The primeval dreamer then recites his vision which the youth may well duplicate in all its particulars.

The dreaming neophyte made no attempt to call his Visitant and had no prescience of what power would be conferred. Young men went on the salt expedition or killed an eagle in order to find out their vocation. It might be shamanism or lay curing in which case they would continue to dream. Or it might be a profession for which a single conferring of power was enough.

There were certain standard Visitants, with loosely defined powers. The hawk and the cranes (always in a flock) gave speed in running. Coyote, turtle, spider and many others gave curing powers. The crow gave cunning as a scout, the puma, wildcat and deer gave hunting prowess. Luck in gambling came from a number of small birds, in one case, from the eagle. The vision of a youth who had killed an eagle follows:

"The eagle I had killed came and sat beside me. Then it told me to sit on its back, hold to its wings and never look back as we flew. It flew up into the sky as far as where people say Heaven is, (informant was a nominal Christian), but there was only darkness. Then the eagle said, "Well' go down. You look at the earth. Maybe there will be something you can use."

We came down, but the earth was not as I remembered. In one place, where there should be desert, there was a river. The eagle said, "Sit beside this river and anything you see, take it." I saw a reed floating with the roots pulled up.

I woke up. My heart was here (throat). I looked for the reed. It was not there. The next night the man — he was really the eagle — came again. He said, "Don't feel bad at losing what you found last night. I took it. I'll give it back to you. On the third night I will give it." On the third night he came but he did not give it. He said, "I will give it on the fourth night."

On the fourth night he said, "Go anywhere. Find a reed. Cut it in four pieces at the joints." . . . (16)

There follows a description for making the tubes used in hidden ball, with a little extra painting and the direction to hold the openings to the east while filling the tubes with sand. The dreamer followed directions, always played hidden ball with the magic tubes so made and always won.

Many traditions relate to the dreams by which runners procured their powers.

"A champion runner used to go early to a place where he always ran. A long narrow clearing was the race track . When starting, he heard the sound of something falling and he saw a man standing there who wanted to run with him. This was an eagle in human

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

form. They ran to the end of the track, returned and the stranger walked away. This happened four times and on the last one he appeared as an eagle. He told the runner to follow his advice and be like him, a killer and runner. The eagle took some of his feathers and thrust them into the runner's arms on the inside above the wrist pointing up, under the skin toward the hands. After a while the feathers began to grow on his arms almost like wings and he continued a fast runner. He was instructed not to tell of the eagle nor to boast. People would find out his power." (21)

"There was a very fast runner at Mesquite Root. Once, after an Apache attack, this man was escaping. He came to the other side of narrow Mountain, where there was a shelter for the cactus gatherers. He got there at evening. It was cold and he had no blanket, only a shirt and breechclout. He lay down, expecting to freeze, but he was tired and slept. While he was asleep the white birds (cranes) came and took his heart out. They carried it to the ocean where they live and flew around with it. All night they flew around with it, while his body slept. They showed him how to run and gave him kickball power, because they had pity on him.

When the sun rose, they brought his heart back. He woke up warm instead of cold. Immediately he thought of those who had been killed the day before. So he went back to Mesquite Root and helped burn the bodies.

After that, he had dreams. The white birds would take his heart. One night they took him and told him to run from Mesquite Root to the Hollow Place (about fifty miles). They said he could arrive by noon and should then start back. He would get home by sundown. He wanted to test the dream and he did so. He ran the whole distance, through Hackberry Well and Coyote Sitting and got back just as they said.

The same birds told him in a dream he would have a game of kickball against four relays. He had never tried this. But they said he would win. Then they said he would run against one man and win. All this came true. Then he dreamed of a race track as long as from the Black Hill to the Hollow Place with one man running on it, far ahead of the others. In his dream someone asked him to get in and help the losing side, handing him the breechclout which the runners wore. He accepted the breechclout, saw his relay coming in and his rival out of sight. Just as he was going to run, he woke up. He was old now and he decided to go to the Hollow Place and die there, for this would be the last dream he would have. (Since he had not run in the dream, he probably would not run in life.) He died before he could go." (21)

Women might dream but they did not do so as frequently as men and they never went into retreat, except as the wives of Enemy Slayers. The prerequisite was their standard virtue, industry.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

"Work hard," they were told, "and the magic serpent will come and show you designs for baskets." An informant had this experience, though she did not see the serpent.

> "When I am making baskets, I hear a voice speaking to me. 'Put a cactus here. Put a turtle there. There, put a Gila monster.'" (26)

Women might acquire curing and, in the old days, rain-making powers after the menopause.

Some light is thrown on the psychological function of the dream by the experience of a woman informant which would seem to be typical. She had all her life observed a practice of midwives: pushing up the baby's palate to produce closure of the fontanelle (see p. 89). This appears to be an old Aztec practice.[1] Although the action was perfectly simple, the informant had never attempted it but in old age she took to dreaming. In one dream the Virgin Mary "and another lady" came and took her through a typically Papago visit to four pools, each guarded by a turquoise and each with a baby's head in it. The Visitants showed her how to spit on a shaman's crystal and touch the fontanelle, which then closed. When she awoke, she knew she could cure the baby's disease. She had no crystal but she did not trouble about it nor about the rest of the ritual. She proceeded to cure babies by pushing up the palate as she had seen others do. All she needed was the dream validation (26).

The Papago dream experience takes its place as a local version of the Guardian Spirit idea which is, in essence, a proclamation of the ability of the individual to attain eminence, regardless of his hereditary status. Such an idea is held both to east and west of the Papago, in varying forms.

The River Yumans, to the west, believed that power-bringing visions came by chance, in natural sleep, and, though an individual's whole success in life depended upon his dreams, he was powerless to induce them. Stated in modern terms, this reflects a belief in the innate superiority, perhaps also superior luck, of certain individuals. The subject of the dream was not an animal, as with the Papago, but a mountain or a supernatural being; sometimes merely a prophetic experience.[2]

On the Plains to the east, the vision was induced by efforts of the recipient, demanding a will power would see him through repeated

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[1] Sahagun, Seler, pt. 9, sec. 8, p. 366.

[2] Kroeber, 1925, p. 754; Spier, 1933, p. 236; Gifford, 1933, pp. 303—4; Forde, 1931, pp. 182, 183, 189, 190.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

vigil and torture. Such visions occurred in a waking trance, not in sleep, and they took the standard form of visitation from an animal.[1] But, again, the vision was a democratic expedient which gave a man access both to individual achievement and the holding of office.

Gradations of these ideas are to be found in other areas near the Papago, such as the Shoshoneans of southern California,[2] the Basin and Plateau[3] with sporadic appearances in the Sonoran and Pueblo areas. We have mentioned the two versions which are in strongest contrast, in order better to define the elements of the Papago vision but without conclusions as to the contacts which gave them currency.

The Papago dream experience occurred in sleep, like that of the Yumans, but the spirits involved were the animal guardians of the Plains. And the vision was induced. The purposeful motivating of a certain dream is at odds with the modern attitude of scrutinizing dreams as valuable messengers from the subconscious, to be humbly awaited and studied, rather than commanded. But the Papago commanded their dreams — or at least those they remembered. Inquiry has convinced the writer that there were many symbolic expressions of unrecongized desires, like those so much studied today and sometimes spoken of as typical of all dreams. But these, say the Papago, "did not mean anything. We forgot them." Other dreams however, were motivated by constant thought and desire directed toward one end — say a visit from Coyote — until it must have reflection in dreams. Such a desire was by no means suppressed: these dreams acted as messengers, not from the sub-conscious to the conscious but in the reverse direction. When a man's subconscious could produce, in sleep, a reflection of the very image toward which his conscious desires and those of his society were bent, he had attained supernatural power.

The inviting of this power took no such drastic form as it did in the Plains for both violent ambition and torture were contrary to Papago attitudes. Boys were urged to run and to be frugal in their diet but the purpose was not self mortification. Rather it was training them in those physical characteristics which were needed in useful members of society. Even the purification of the Enemy Slayer had its principal use in proving his fortitude for dealing with daily life. The animal Visitants were pleased with the heroes, not because they had made a sacrifice but because they had shown themselves to be swift and enduring like good Papagos.

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[1] Benedict, 1923.
[2] Boscana, 1846, p. 17; Hooper, 1920, p. 335.
[3] Steward, 1933, p. 311; Park. 1934, p. 99; Lowie, 1924, p. 154; Gifford, 1932, pp. 15—65.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

787 In one respect, the Papago vision differs both from that of the Yumans and that of the Plains. In these areas, the experience is 776 essentially democratic, opening to him who achieves it, every avenue 171 of advance. But the Papago dream brought success only in racing, 624 gambling, war and curing. Planting was taken care of by communal ritual and office, both ceremonial and secular, descended by heredity, without benefit of vision. It seems possible to relate this importance of the hierarchy to Pueblo influence. We have mentioned that the group of officiers in a Papago village is a simplified version of that found in the western Pueblos where, also, office derives from family status. Wheter this group was imposed on a society which already had the vision formula or whether that formula found them already established, they would serve as a barrier to the principle that all avenues were open to the dreamer.

NAMES

553 An experience of adult life which, from the Papago point of view, must be placed among the crucial ones was the receiving of a nickname. This was actually the appellation by which a man was called while his shaman-given name passed into disuse. Women did not receive nicknames but instead were often the givers.

551 A distinguishing characteristic of Papago names is that they usually have more reference to the giver than to the person named. This is the case with shaman-given names which describe something the shaman has seen in a dream. The dream has no connection with the child to be named except that, as is apparent from the examples, dreams referring to flowers and plants are used for women. There may have been other distinctions of the same sort. Some shaman-given names follow:

Men	Women
Circling Light	Rushing Light Beams
Daylight Comes	Rustling Leaves
Wind Rainbow	Wind Leaves
Cloud Rainbow	Blossom Tips
Rainbow Shaman	Feather Leaves
Having a Rainbow as a Bow	Singing Dawn
Shining Beetle	Sifting
Hawk Flying Over Water Holes	Flowers Trembling
Chief of Jackrabbits	Leaves Flying
Crooked Shining	Water Drops on Leaves
Thundering Wings	Leaf Blossoms
Short Wings	Foamy Water
Shining Evening	

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

In view of the affinity of the Papago system of male sib titles with the Yuman system of female sib names,[1] it would seem possible that some of the men's names might bear sib suggestions. No connection could de traced of Wind, Rainbow and the other natural phenomena which characterize the shaman's dreams with sib or moiety. 551

The rules for the use of the given name are now obscured, since all Papagos have Spanish or English names and some families have had them for generations. However, all older men and women have shaman-given names and most men have nicknames. They make no objection to telling their given names, though some will not tell that of another. Many people are habitually called by given names. Nevertheless, many signs point to a name taboo and to the use instead of either a kin term or a nickname.

A person is habitually addressed and spoken of by the kinship term, prefixed with the possessive pronoun: my younger sister's child, your father's older brother. All ceremonial greetings made use of the kin term only, even the final salute to the dead, which was a form of exorcism. When unrelated men had, to each other, the relationship of guardian and protégé, special kin terms were coined to meet the case: my made-father, my nephew.

Even with supernaturals there was the same situation. In many of the rituals for the salt expedition, there is mention of a powerful supernatural who is alluded to by no other term than my made-father, or guardian. Since the name is nowhere mentioned, informants, who had learned the ritual by rote, could not tell who was meant. The same is true in the ritual for the rain ceremony. Elder Brother himself had the given name Iitoi, but instead is always called by the kinship term he acquired. Coyote is called "our partner" or the "gray comrade." This usage may de interpreted from the point of view of the importance of the kin term but also from that of the objection to the use of the name. In some rain rituals there is no kin term but a mention of one who sat on the rain house, and in a war ritual one who was underground (presumably earth magician). The smoker's invocation to the sun says simply: "You stand there," without giving a name. 552 776

The place where a supernatural power is habitually mentioned by name is in the curing songs. These are descriptions of animals who have by their power brought the disease and can also take it away. There is no myth of relationship with any of these animals as with Coyote. The song often begins with a mention of the animal's name as a sort of invocation and then proceeds with a description.

[1] Spier, 1933, p. 196.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

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It is badger shaman!
In the night he runs.
Venison he brings.

Little blue fly!
It hangs on my horn.
It will bother me.

Red ants!
Toward me they flung darkness

552 776 The idea here seems to be not to flatter or implore the animal but to mention and describe him, as though that naming in itself negated his power to bring disease.

551 With the Papagos, when a man's name had to be mentioned, it was usually a nickname. Even with ceremonial announcements this was the case. When a war party returned, they sent a herald ahead to shout the names of the slayers, so that their families might be secluded and nicknames, not given names, were used. When naming songs were sung in connection with intervillage races, the singing side sent to inquire the names of their hosts, which they put in their songs and again the names were nicknames. The hosts in turn inquired the names of their guests so that they might call each one to come and receive a gift. "But we only gave them silly names. Not our real ones." (26) This would point to a lifelong [171] prohibition from the use of the given name, though Russell says that among the Pimas such a prohibition lasted only from the age of ten to marriage.[1]

Papago nicknames are of three sorts: descriptive names, referring to some peculiarity of the person named; sexual names, referring to a peculiarity of the namers and "enemy" names, referring to a peculiarity of a dead enemy, mentioned by the person named. The last two have the Papago trait of referring more to another person than to the one named. These were names obtained by a man's own exploits, highly valued and traded. The first, the descriptive name, was apparently a mere makeshift, used in daily life, until a man could get something else.

1. Descriptive names. These are always slightly derogatory and may easily be distinguished from the shaman-given names which have a lofty poetic tone.
   Grasshopper ate his arrow (from an incident on a hunting trip)

[1] Russell, p. 188.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
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Pima NV29

ripen before being picked. Of course, at present, with the commercial growing of cotton, Pima pick the cotton from the open bolls directly off the plants in the field.

Cotton seed was stored in sealed ollas in exactly the same manner as were teparies. There was no selection; seed for planting was simply taken from the general supply stored for food.

Utilization of Cotton

Cotton was grown for both lint and seeds. The lint was used for cordage, cloth, garments and tinder. Tinder was prepared from a cotton rope about one-half inch thick, several inches long and frayed at one end, used especially for lighting cigarettes. Sparks made by pounding two pieces of flint together ignited the fiber. Its use as tinder may be a Spanish introduction.

Cotton seed was parched and eaten much like we use pop corn. The seeds were placed in an olla with embers of mesquite wood on top. The olla was continually shaken and the live coals soon parched the seed. Another way of utilizing the seed was in combination with mesquite or cornmeal. Mesquite pods were pounded fine with a wooden mortar and pestle, seeds removed, and the flour mixed with that secured by pounding parched cotton seeds in a mortar. The two were then mixed and molded into a sort of cake-like tortilla, baked in ashes and eaten. A combination of cotton meal and cornmeal was utilized in the same way. Informants said either mixture tasted like, and had the texture of, tallow. From the pounded seeds Papago and Pima made a kind of bread which was baked in hot ashes. At times, water was added to pounded cottonseed meal, strained, and the liquid used as seasoning in cooking. The strained meal residue was sucked in order to remove the nutriment, and the pulp discarded.

Papago informants stated cotton was used ceremonially on their prayer sticks to symbolize clouds, and thereby invite rain. Pimas preferred eagle down for this purpose.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

796 In former times the Viikita ceremony was held every four years, that in the north being in November and that in the south being in the latter part of August or in September. Two derivations of the word *viikita* were given, the most reliable informants stating it came from a word meaning "to fast," while others said it came from *viiki*, [185] meaning white downy eagle plumes. Fasting was part of the observance, and white eagle plumes were worn by the dancers. In the northern part of the reservation this ceremony was held near the "children's burying ground." A tradition states that a spring overflowed and threatened the country with inundation, so two children were buried alive in it to stop the flow of water. Because of this tradition it is customary for either two or four girls and boys to take part in the ceremony, representing the children who were thus sacrificed. This is peculiar to the northern observances of the ceremony. The origin of the ceremony is, in this region, attributed [176] to a deity called Navico, who is said to have given the gourd to the Indians.

Stones are heaped above the spring in which the children were buried, and the place is surrounded with branches of ocatillo cactus stuck in the ground. (Pl. 18, *a*.) These are renewed every year and heaps of discarded branches can be seen in the background. After this spring had been choked a smaller spring issued from the ground a few rods away. This was covered with stones, and there the [182] Indians place offerings of various trinkets or valuables. (Pl. 18, *b*.) Around this heap of stones is a well-worn path, and straight paths extend from this to the cardinal points. It was said that a person bringing a gift to the place should enter by one of the radial paths, run around the heap of stones, and run out by the path on which he had entered. The location was a few miles from Santa Rosa village. (Cf. Lumholtz, op. cit., p. 105.)

Four villages united in the northern ceremony, which was held for the last time in the year 1912 at Arci, located about halfway between Santa Rosa and Anakum. The other three villages taking part were Santa Rosa, Anakum, and Akcina. People living elsewhere and attending the ceremony connected themselves temporarily with one of these villages. About fifty people came from each of the four villages, and in each there were about six men who had charge of the ceremonial articles.

A ceremonial inclosure was made with an opening toward the east and at some distance was a similar inclosure where the singers rehearsed the songs. The walls of these inclosures were made of cornstalks, and the height of the wall was the length of two rows of cornstalks, the upper row overlapping the lower. This made a wall about 10 feet in height. Preparations for the ceremony included the gathering of the watermelons and the making of many tamales tied

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

778 There was an entrance to a subterranean cave which he distinctly remembered not to be the right one, and here we noticed some marks cut in a sahuaro which was growing near the hole that led downward. Our cave turned out to be a long natural tunnel, the bottom of which ran for some twenty feet below the surface. The roof of the tunnel had fallen in for about ten yards just where the entrance to the holy place had been, and hence our guide did not at first recognize it. The passage is believed by the Indians to run westward underneath the mountains, then under the sea until it reaches an island where Elder [776] Brother's wife lives. The god has another though less important "house" some miles from this cave on the same side of the mountain, but this I did not visit.

778 [776] 782 It evidently filled Queléle with dismay that "Ítoi's house had fallen down." The god himself had caused this destruction in anger against the people who no longer came to deposit offerings and do him homage. Some old, weather-worn sacrificial objects were observed around a small natural terrace down in the opening, as well as in the cracks of the rocky sides. Our guide was too old to descend himself, but he asked the two Indians, Guadalupe and Clemente, to perform the sacrifice for him. They clambered down and Guadalupe deposited in a crack of the old lava the ceremonial objects we had brought along. These objects were an arrow, as a mark of respect and for the use of the god; a prayer-stick, colored by red ochre with a small eagle plume tied to its top, to secure luck in hunting; a bunch of yucca fibre tied in a knot, in order that the wind might

13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28

THE PAPAGO CEREMONY OF VÍKĬTA

By Edward H. Davis

MANY years ago a great flood visited this country, inundating the whole region except the mountains, to which the people fled for safety. When the water subsided and the land was again dry, a large pool remained near Quitovaquita, Sonora, in which lived a great monster of which the people stood in deadly fear, for he was declared to eat human beings. He had the power to fascinate any man or woman who came in sight, and to draw them irresistibly toward him, then swallowing them alive. If any one had the temerity to peek at him even from the top of the mountain overlooking the pool, the monster instantly drew him down, in spite of his utmost power to resist, and consumed him.

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Immediate reasons Papagos work--

Aside from the necessity for earning enough cash to buy food and clothing, there are other reasons for earning money. During the picking season three important religious events occur. These are the feast days of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Francis Xavier, and All Souls Day of the Roman Catholic ceremonial calendar. A very high proportion of the tribe goes to one or another, or all three.

Although several denominations have gained a foothold among the Desert People, the vast majority are orthodox or Sonora Catholics. Harvest hands in 1950 were about 95% Catholic.[1] The rest are about evenly divided between Protestants and individuals consciously rejecting Christian allegiance to practice native forms of religion or none at all. The Presbyterian church has the largest following among Protestant groups, with six congregations on the reservation. There are other missions on the reservations. However, missionary activity does not extend to labor camps.[2]

From the great reservoir of Papago Catholics come the pilgrims to Magdalena, San Xavier, Chuwhiy Cuwak at fiesta time. These pilgrims make their journeys primarily to keep promises they've made to the Saint, or to ask him to intercede for them. Because they have very deep faith in the powers of St. Francis to cure illnesses, the Desert People frequently vow to the Saint that if the petitioner or one of his loved ones is cured, he will visit the statue of the Saint in the Magdalena (or San Xavier or Chuwhiy Cuwak) church. Often the person vows to make four such visits, to place a number of candles for the Saint, to leave him an amount of money, perhaps even to walk from the border to Magdalena or to perform some other penance.

Not all those petitioning the Saint seek health. Some ask aid in business, love or other ventures. The Desert People bring statues and pictures from their household shrines and chapels to press against the statue of the Saint for his blessing. They buy yards of bright ribbons, sold in shops thrown up about the

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[1] Based on information from 35 individuals.

[2] Not 1 of 9 persons questioned had seen a missionary in 1950. 1 had in a previous year.

mescal and perhaps paying a small fine to get out of jail next morning, buying presents for folks back home and children, purchasing a new pair of boots or a coat and donating to the Saint and buying ribbons and relics to take home all added up. Probably most of the families going to Magdalena spent around $125.

While Chuwhiy Ouwsk was not so expensive, and San Xavier considerably less in cost, the nearly 800 Papago families making pilgrimages from labor camps spent at least $50,000 on the one religious celebration on St. Francis of Assisi's day, and more than likely spent about $75,000. It is hardly surprising that Magdalena merchants are glad to see Papagos.

Acquiring this amount of cash to spend is undoubtedly a very strong motive behind Papago cotton field labor. Growers impatient with their Indians for taking off work at this time must realize that this fiesta is one main reason the Desert People work at all!

Most Papago families picking cotton in 1950 made at least one trip home to the reserves. In fact, over four-fifths of them returned home at least once. Some made frequent trips to care for livestock or poultry, or just to have a good time at fiestas, and many made two trips, which was about average.

About 7 trips of every 10 were made at All Souls Day, the next important religious event after the fiesta of St. Francis, and the next most important in number of Indian participants. However, there are no centers for the observance of this day of memorial. Families scatter to their home towns where they visit graveyards to leave flowers and candles and pray for the dead.

The last of the trio of religious festivals falls on Dec. 3, the day of St. Francis Xavier. (Actually the Desert People do not clearly distinguish between Saints Francis of Assisi and Xavier. The big fiesta in Oct. 4 was probably held originally Dec. 3, the day of Jesuit St. Francis Xavier, but was shifted by later

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[illegible] families or by giving data returned, 82%.
23 families made 30 plus trips (some interviews being early in the season didn't include all trips). 6 Pima and 4 Final county farmers said their Papago hands averaged just over 2 trips home per family during picking season, much to their employers' annoyance.
14 of 20 trips of known purpose were at All Souls, 70%.